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SPEECH

OF THE

HON. WM. W. WICK, OF INDIANA,

ON THE

OREGON QUESTION.

DELIVERED

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

JANUARY 30, 1846.

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SPEECH.

On the resolution of notice to Great Britain to abrogate the convention of joint occupancy relative to the Oregon territory.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union—

Mr. WICK rose and addressed the committee as follows:

He was in a place, he said, in which it had been justly remarked that one could neither speak nor hear, and in which, in point of fact, little that was said was heard. Though aware of this difficulty, he should undertake the task of speaking, and, strange as it might seem, not for Buncombe, but for this House.

His good constituents at home had been quietly enjoying the Christmas holyday, eating their ducks and turkeys, or pursuing their ordinary avocations, and were perfectly unconscious that their representative here had for the last two or three weeks exhibited the ungraceful figure of sitting here, leaning upon a desk, crouched like a catamount watching for prey, and waiting for the moment to spring forward, at the close of each of some hundred or more speeches, and, at the top of his voice, cry out "Mr. Chairman!" His constituents had heard nothing of this; but he meant to tell them about it when he got home, and let them know that the difficulty here is, not to make a speech, but to obtain the floor for the purpose of making one.

Now that I have obtained the floor, Mr. Chairman, (said Mr. W.,) I find that it is a privilege scarcely worth rejoicing over, for everything had been said that could be said on the subject, and it was now perfectly exhausted. There was not an infinitismal point which had not been made the subject of a long speech; and I am too proud (said Mr. W.) to repeat what others have said before. What, then, shall I do? In the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, I believe it is in order to speak of matters and things in general, and also to respond to things which had been said by others in the course of this discussion. There are some things which had been said in the debate to which no direct answer has been made, and I (said Mr. W.) will attend to them.

While we are engaged here in deliberating upon a subject concerning our foreign relations—the most delicate of all topics discussed here—he could well comprehend the propriety of not "o'erstepping the modesty of nature," and of measuring every sentence by the dictates of calm discretion and prudence. He would endeavor to control himself accordingly, and to "let his moderation be seen." Yet he felt at liberty to remember that he was the representative of a fearless and independent people, who speak their minds in free off-hand style—always, however, in courtesy, or, what is better, good nature.

At an early stage of this debate we had been told by an honorable member from South Carolina [Mr. RHETT] that the West and Northwest had claimed a special interest in this question; and in other quarters it seemed to be understood as a western or northwestern question. He (Mr. W.) would say that the Northwest had a strong interest in this question. So had the entire country; and he (Mr. W.) was surprised to see the representatives from some portions of the country apparently blind to that interest.

The honorable member from South Carolina [Mr. RHETT] had, in addressing the committee, seen proper to infer or suppose that the Northwest was desirous, by means of this question, to bring on a war for war's sake, and on the supposition that war would be profitable to the northwest in a pecuniary point of view; and in this conclusion, so dishonorable to the Northwest, the member from South Carolina [Mr. RHETT] is fully sustained by some foreign newspapers, and by some of the opposition papers at home. Sir, (said Mr. W.,) I live in the Northwest, and I know what the feelings and the wishes of her people are much better than the gentleman does. He guesses, but I know. I would take his word upon any subject concerning which his means of informing himself were ample and mine limited; and he may take my word when I tell him that he has been grossly misinformed. I have never seen a man in the Northwest who wanted a war for the sake of war, or of any supposed pecuniary profit to result from it. We, sir, are afraid of the evils of war, for it would deprive us of our market for our products, and of many of the blessings which we enjoy. War would bring as much trouble to us as to any part of the country. We would never wish for a war, either for profit or glory.

Again, it has been said that the West wants a war, or a war fever, for the purpose of making a northwestern President. What is the gentleman's position in regard to this allegation? Did the gentleman refer to the distinguished senator from Missouri, [Mr. BENTON?] If so, what will become

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of that gentleman's hobby, the hard-money system, if a war should take place? A war would at once deprive him of all the benefit of his long advocacy of the hard-money principle; for his untiring advocacy of which the northwest has so much and so long admired him; for, as the honorable gentleman from South Carolina says, an era of war is always an era of paper money.

Does the gentleman refer to a distinguished citizen of Michigan and senator from that State? That distinguished gentleman lives within eleven hundred yards of the British line, and the occurrence of a war would inevitably consign his houses to the flames, and his property to destruction. Why should he invoke a war? But still (said Mr. W.) I do expect that, in the course of our history, the northwest will, at a short day, too, furnish an actual *live* President of the United States, to the great Empire State, the Ancient Dominion, and to South Carolina. And I do not think that we shall be obliged to make a war for the purpose of effecting that object. Living in the West, I am well informed as to its feelings, and I speak with confidence in regard to them. It has been said by the honorable member from South Carolina, [Mr. RHETT,] that we in the northwest have nothing to lose by a war, as we export nothing, whereas the South would lose the market for her cotton. The honorable gentleman from South Carolina was evidently misinformed on this subject. The wheat and other products of the northwest found its way to England, formerly through Canada, but now directly. The northwest makes as many clear dollars in proportion to her population from the export of her wheat and other products, as South Carolina does from the export of her cotton. The prices of our produce are as well understood in Liverpool, and London, and Charleston, as is the price of cotton. We sell our produce wherever it is wanted—to England, when her starving population require it, and to South Carolina, when her cotton and rice crops are good, and her terrapin crop fails.

In reference to the sentiment which the gentleman from South Carolina had advanced, that those should not hazard a public war—wholesale murder—who do not defend their personal honor according to the peculiar fashion adopted in some parts of the world, because, they say, that tends to murder, I will say that the gentleman is mistaken, if he applies it to us of the northwest, for we do defend our personal honor, according to our own code. The gentleman cannot refuse us our own way of doing this, while he remains a consistent advocate of State sovereignty and State rights.

The gentleman cannot gainsay that Indiana, for example, is a sovereign State, and therefore entitled to establish her own customs and usages. In extreme cases, sir, according to our custom, two gentlemen lock themselves up in a room in the third-story, and then proceed to assert their personal honor; and he that jumps out of the window, at the end of a half-hour, carrying with him the ears, eyes, noses, &c. belonging to both is the victor. That, sir, is our code; and when the whole world, (I mean the civilized world,) shall adopt it, we will fight the whole world according to that system for Oregon, or on any other point. In the event of the universal adoption of this mode, the non-voting constituents of the honorable member from South Carolina would be admirable combatants. In a war with England, it would be nigger against cockney.

But the gentleman is excusable for knowing little of the northwest, for he has never been there. No one ever emigrates from Indiana to South Carolina, and therefore South Carolina knows nothing about us; but many emigrants from South Carolina come among us, and tell us all about it; and they had taken occasion to tell us of the manifold merits and great achievements of that State. I have reason to admire that old State on many accounts. She has taught us the revenue-tariff doctrine; for though it came to us originally from Virginia, it was doubly distilled by South Carolina into a concentrated essence, and we swallowed it, and oved the dose. We admire South Carolina, also, for her talented sons. We admire her honorable bearing. We acknowledge her right to secede from the Union, and will give her, or any other discontented State, a pass for that purpose. But we do not recognise her right to remain in the Union, and yet nullify the laws of the Union. The course of South Carolina is always rather eccentric, in our estimation. She will at one time oppose the election of a President, and then support him after his election; and at another time she will contribute to elect a President, and then oppose his administration. We think she sometimes has carried her views of State sovereignty a *leetle* too far—to wit, when she affected to nullify the laws of the United States; and that in her political course she is a *leetle* too *South Carolinaish*. But one thing we will say for South Carolina: we will excuse her and her politicians from the charge of any presidential aspirations at the present time. The finger-board that directed to the White House, pointed also at the late election to Texas and Oregon, and now it pointed to Oregon alone; and there is no other way by which the executive mansion can be reached. I do not see South Carolina on that road.

I now turn my attention to my democratic whig friend from Illinois, [Mr. BAKER,] who had asked the supporters of Mr. Polk to reconcile our clear and unquestionable right to Oregon with the offer of the 49th parallel as a compromise. He asked how Mr. Polk, after making such an assertion of our title, could offer a compromise. I do not find in the message that Mr. Polk described any particular Oregon as ours. There is Russian Oregon, for instance, and Mr. Polk could not claim that. The assertion was made in regard to our title to the whole of *our* Oregon—to that part of the territory to which our right should be ascertained. How that right should be ascertained he does not say. Perhaps it must be by the "*ultima ratio regum.*" But the President was partially committed upon this subject by the action of his predecessors, to offer the 49th parallel not as a right, but as a compromise, for the sake of peace—so his message tells us. Will a Clay man reprehend him for this, when the same offer was made by Mr. Clay himself, although he had said that Great Britain had no colorable title to any part of Oregon?

My friend from South Carolina [Mr. HOLMES,] has also made some remarks on this subject, to which I must pay some attention. The gentleman had contended more strongly for the British right to Oregon, and has more strongly denied the American rights there, than any British statesman or negotiator has ever done. I will turn the honorable gentleman over to his particular friend the honorable chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, for an answer to his argument on that point. The gen-

eman had very poetically described the evils, and isasters, and destruction of a war. His description f British triumphs and American defeats, which he nticipates, is vastly more poetic and graphic than ill be any British song written after the war shall e over to record its events. The gentleman, in is description of the immense power of Great ritain, said that she had forty war-steamers.

Mr. HOLMES. One hundred and forty.

Mr. W. continued. Well, let them bring them l on, no matter how many, they can do us very ttle harm. According to the gentleman, we shall e very badly off for means of defence or offence, r he says that our little privateers, and all our essels, as soon as they leave port will be out-run, vertaken, and captured by the British steamers. I now (said Mr. W.) that the British are great mopolizers; but I never heard before that they had btained the exclusive patent to the use of God Almighty's steam. I hope that we also can exercise the ght of using it; for if we are deprived of that right, e shall next be denied the use of the wind. The gentman has also asked us how we are going to take regon? whether we can march an army across the ocky mountains? He says we cannot, for every ight would prove a Gibraltar, and that every ocky pass, and every vale in Oregon, will bristle ith British bayonets. Alas! we have no rifles!! ur riflemen are all dead!! Where are our rifles d riflemen? If a loyal subject of England asked e question, I would answer that our rifles were all ken, and our riflemen were all killed at the battle of ew Orleans!! But we cannot take Canada; that, the ntleman says, is impossible, because the Welland nal would afford the means of transporting British ets to the lakes, and that we could never got across Canada, the British having command of the kes. We cannot cross on the ice, he says, in the nter season, because the British would lay down wder kegs, all in one continued row, from the lls of Niagara to the northwest corner of Lake perior, then touch them off by a galvanic commucation, and blow up the whole of the ice. Now, , these powder kegs must be all in a string, and connected together; and there must not be a leaky e among them, and no Yankee must find it out, lest arrangement should be disturbed. Sir, the gentman knows nothing of our climate in the northst. Why, sir, you may blow up the whole of ice one night, and the water will be frozen r again the next night. The British government l have to get something stronger than gunpowder this purpose. No article known to her extensive mmerce will answer the purpose. She must deal young volcanoes, and import some small specins of the infernal regions to keep the lakes thawn winter time. I am gratified, however, to learn m the honorable gentleman that South Carolina l be able to look out for herself in time of war, that she will ensconse herself in her swamps, ere she will be out of harm's way.

The gentleman asserted for South Carolina, and sons of Marion, of Sumter, and Pinckney, the acity to retreat into her impenetrable fastnesses, d there defend her against the world. In the nt of a war for Oregon, will South Carolina thus ep into her shell?

Mr. HOLMES. I said we would come to your istance.

We thank you, (said Mr. W.,) and I will say to th Carolina, that when the northern fanatics ll trouble her, we will come to her rescue.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GIDDINGS] has threatened the South with a war of emancipation, and an invasion by the black regiments from the West Indies. The southern gentlemen have preferred to answer him. They had better leave the one idea and its professors to us of the northwest. I had an answer for the gentleman as to this most untasteful development of his one idea. We in the northwest know his ways, for we have a few of his party in Indiana. I will waive my answer to him, but will say to him that my non-slaveholding constituents mean that justice shall be done to the South and its constitutional rights; for so intense is their anxiety on this subject, lest it should disturb the harmony of the Union, that they are ready to do full and ample justice to the South. If I should endorse what was said by the honorable member from Missouri—viz: that the gentleman's wish was father to his thought—my non-slaveholding constituents would believe me; and were they to read his [Mr. G.'s] speech, they would swear to their belief of the idea suggested by the honorable member from Missouri. We in the West do not denounce these men, but rather laugh at them, and at their utter failure to propagate their Union-destroying principles. But, sir, I can devote no more time to answering the remarks of those who have preceded me. Were I to go into a full notice and refutation of arguments against the measure before the committee, it would consume twenty hours instead of one. The little time which is left to me I will devote to the consideration of the question; and if I am asked why my speech contains no more about Oregon, I will answer that almost every thing has been said over and over again in the course of the debate. I am not careful whether or not my opinions will be deemed heretical on this subject, when I say that I am for Oregon and against a war; but for Oregon, war or no war.

I adopt (said Mr. W.) the opinion of the venerable gentleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. ADAMS,] and of the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, [Mr. INGERSOLL,] as to the proper construction of the convention of 1827—to wit: that it is a commercial treaty, stipulating for a joint occupancy for the purposes of trade. The logic of all those gentleman who had spoken in favor of Oregon appears to be very sound; and therefore I adopt principally all the views of gentlemen who had spoken on this side of the subject; and I have transmitted many of their speeches to my constituency, thereby, in the main, endorsing their views, and making my own known.

I am determined to claim all Oregon, and am ready to claim all the continent, upon the principle of manifest destiny urged by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BAKER] and my transcendental friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. LEVIN.]

I am not accustomed to deal in poetry, and therefore gentlemen must excuse me for not introducing any in my remarks; but I am perfectly willing to take all the poetry that has been recited here, good and bad, applicable or not, and whether new or old acquaintances. So in regard to all the declarations which have been made in the debate against the abominations of the British government: I adopt the whole of them; and, moreover, I hope that their authors will consider that, after having done their best, were I to launch out on that subject, they would be most signally outdone.

Sir, I do not believe that we shall take the whole world; but if we do not, our principles will. Our

principles are extending all over the world. The last war did much to extend them, and another will extend them further. We have seen gradual encroachment on the monopolies and governmental abuses of the Old World, and we have witnessed the concessions made by them to popular rights. Lately we have witnessed the yielding of British ministers to the progress of liberal principles; and oh! how grudgingly do they make any concession. All this is the result of the American principles in favor of equal rights and popular self-government becoming gradually known to the world. The ultimate triumph of our principles, such as progressive democracy will make them, is sure, and it will come in God's own good time.

We started at the late election with our principles—the reduction of the tariff, Texas, and Oregon. One of them has been carried triumphantly through, and the tariff reform and Oregon remain to be disposed of. I presume that a few democrats will be found missing when we come to the vote on the Oregon question. Well, I hope there will be enough democrats left to carry the measure; and we are desirous to carry it independently of the action of our political opponents. We would not desire to be, like a distinguished whig member in 1841, [Mr. WISE,] obliged to appeal to our adversaries to "save us from our friends," and to look around us to hunt up republicans. I see public opinion rallying around this question, and that democrats and whigs are sending up their prayers here for Oregon, their country, its integrity and honor. I am glad to see that, on this truly American question, our political opponents here instructed by their constituencies, are, many of them, about to give their voices to us upon this question; but I would be yet more delighted to see the party to which I belong a unit now as heretofore.

In the northwest, we go for all the issues of 1844. I regret to see that some portion of the party in Congress is hanging back; perhaps it is expected to save the tariff of 1842. I hear of a drag on that joint, of some impracticable Pennsylvanians who will not sustain us in carrying out all the principles of 1844. I will say to our political opponents that if we should find Pennsylvania a "fixed fact" in the way of our tariff reform, you cannot laugh at us for it. So if South Carolina should be a "fixed fact" in our way on the Oregon question, you need not jeer us. Our opponents cannot laugh at us even should we fail; for we have gained Texas even should we lose the tariff reform and Oregon, and that is much more than you gained. What did you get by your victory in 1840? Nothing but the distribution law, which we repealed in a few months after. But you cannot repeal the annexation of Texas. I am glad to see that we have many honorable friends on the other side of the House, who, although at the late election they considered Oregon a humbug, now find themselves paralized by the will of their constituents; and I would not discourage them from taking that course which they now found expedient, even by a taunt which I am incapable of uttering.

I have said that I believed this treaty to be strictly commercial in its character; and, therefore, I care not what we may do, it will not violate its provisions so long as we leave the British in possession of their stipulated rights. I think that we can do all under it that Great Britain has done, and something more. We may organize a Territorial government in Oregon, and even admit it as a State of the Union. We may take military possession of it for the purpose of defending our settlers there from the Indians; and all this we have a right to do before we give the notice. If the President had not recommended the notice, I should *not* myself have proposed it. I would have waited until the presence of the British subjects in Oregon, and their enjoyment of the privileges secured by treaty had become uncomfortable to our people. The British always professed that they valued the territory merely for its commercial privileges and for nothing else, and we have a right to take them at their word. By giving the notice, as it seems to me, we make a quasi admission that we have not a right to take the steps above alluded to without first giving the notice. These are my opinions, and I am not prepared yet to relinquish them; but the President has had the subject under his eye, and has given to it much attention. He recommends the notice, and it may, and probably will, turn out that he is right. In cases where no practical principle is involved, and where the question presented is one of expediency merely, I will sustain my party friends, and the administration created by them. If you ask why I will do this, I will say that it is necessary in order to harmonize our party, and that it is the only way to keep our whig friends beaten. But I have another reason for going for the notice—that I am instructed positively by my constituents to go for it. There is not one democrat, and but very few whigs among my constituents who would not unite in instructing me to that effect.

Some gentlemen say that they will not vote for the notice for fear it should result in a war. Some have even said that the notice will be, *per se*, cause of war. But the British negotiators never considered that it would be a cause of war. How was it possible that those who framed the convention could have provided for the notice, if it was to be the cause of a war? But others say that it is no cause for a war, and that, on the contrary, it will hasten an adjustment of the question; and that is probably a fair view of the subject. Some say that it will irritate Great Britain—that it will wake her up, and alarm the Hudson Bay Company, because it threatened their valuable privileges, and induce them to strengthen themselves in Oregon. For the sake of peace I would yield the British subjects their present commercial privileges for a good time to come; but this would be on condition of a full recognition of our right to Oregon; and I would sustain the President in making such a treaty after the notice was given.

But I admit that the notice may tend to war, and very probably lead to it when it shall be carried out by the adoption of measures for taking possession of the territory, and practically asserting our right by establishing a Territorial government, granting land to settlers, and controlling the Indian tribes. But shall this prevent us from asserting our title? Is that the attitude of the American people? Shall we look across the waters, and ask Great Britain whether we shall be allowed to take possession of our own soil, on our own continent? Of course she would answer, No. In my opinion, sir, we should at the end of the year, if not before, take possession of Oregon; and that may bring the matter to the issue of war. I think so because I believe that the pretence of Great Britain that she wanted Oregon merely for a hunting-ground is false; but that she places the highest value on it on account of its commercial facilities. Great Britain had always be

ert in improving her commerce with barbarous
ations, for no commerce was more profitable.
The Indian traders, as it was well known in our
untry, always reaped rich harvests. Great Brit-
n knows the value of Oregon, and I believe that
e will fight for it; and I know that the American
ople will fight for it. The harbors of Oregon,
onting a barbarous world, afford admirable facili-
s for carrying on trade; and barbarous nations
e always the best customers of civilized people.
orthern Oregon would also be a manufacturing
untry, for it abounded in water power. Califor-
a will afford vast quantities of raw cotton for the
pply of Oregon factories, and there is no difficulty
the navigation between Oregon and California.
nd so great is the supply of ship timber which
regon furnishes, that more than half the ships of
e world will in forty years be built in the northern
rt of that territory. The harbors of Puget's
und will afford naval stations, and through them
e would soon command the whole commerce of
e Pacific; without them, Oregon would not be
orth a straw to us, for there were no good harbors
uth of Puget's sound, and the major part of com-
ercial and ship-building facilities are north of lati-
de 49°.

My doctrine is, to go ahead and assert our rights;
nd as to the results, not to stop to calculate them.
will at least utter no boastful calculations as to the
sults. "Let not him who putteth on his armor
ast himself as he who putteth it off." Even if
e were certain that the results of a war would be
first adverse to us, yet should we vote for the no-
e, and the other measures consequent upon it.
e may safely put our trust in the justice of our
use and in the kind protection of divine Providence,
d the struggle must end like our former wars—in
glorious triumph, and in the diffusion of our prin-
ples.

The day will come when every interest and eve-
party that is opposed to Oregon will crumble in-
dust. I have heard some speculations upon the
nsequences of our extension of territory, and of the
nexation of the Mexican and other states to our
nion. I do not want any mixed races in our
nion, nor men of any color except white, unless
ey be slaves. Certainly, not as voters or legisla-
rs. My constituents will never consent that their
presentative in this hall shall hold political discus-
n with the honorable colored member from Mex-
. They know that this would lead to a political
ife for ascendency between colors, ending in rev-
tion and blood.

If Mexico, after going through half a dozen more
olutions, should become capable of self-govern-
nt, and apply for annexation, I would vote
inst it, unless her colored races should come in
slaves, or be otherwise excluded from political
vileges. My constituents cannot agree to admit
lored men to the exercise of the right of suffrage;
d they cheerfully acquiesce in the representative
is which the constitution has provided for the
ve-holding States. Independent States, com-
sed of white people thoroughly imbued with our
nciples of self-government, we will receive into
r Union at their own request; but even them we
not wish to coerce into our Union, or to annex
conquest. If we find a stray independency float-
about, and wanting protection, we will take it
When the volcano, sleeping in the bosom of
British empire, shall burst forth, and Canada
ll be lopped off, it might be a question whether it
shall be annexed to our Union. Should we con-
quer it, we will give it back to Great Britain; for I
do not wish to annex her loyal Scotch and English
people. Her Irish and French inhabitants I might
be willing to unite with; but it would take fifty
years to learn the Scotch and English of Canada,
un-Americanized by associati-n, the principles of
our free institutions.

The Irish make good citizens. They take to lib-
erty naturally. Pat is an American from the word
go. If Canada should ever become independent
and capable of self-government, and apply for an-
nexation, we will think of it. But I would annex
any part of the world where the American people
go and settle, and form communities. We have
done so, and we will do it again.

This, sir, (said Mr. W.,) is a progressive question.
Texas was so also; and if Great Britain wants a
compromise with us, she had better speak at once.
When the annexation of Texas was proposed here,
I remember how fearful some gentlemen were in
this House, that the people would not sustain it;
but they soon found that the people were ahead of
them on the question, and were almost unanimous
for the measure. When gentlemen first take their
seats here, they sometimes imagine themselves very
wise, and think that wisdom will die with them;
but after a while they begin to find themselves mis-
taken, particularly if they try often to get the floor. A
little experience here has learned many a man not to
be wiser than his constituents. The same lesson may
be learned again. We annexed the territory of Texas.
We, in the northwest, charge nothing for our assist-
ance in that matter. We went "on our own hook"
on that question, and if we had not done so, Indiana
herself would have gone and taken it with a rush.
The people, as usual, are ahead of their representa-
tives; it was so on the Texan question, and it is so
on this. If I should come back to this House at
the next Congress, (and I think, perhaps, I may,) I
shall find, I fear, that several of my excellent old
acquaintances will not be here, and they will owe
their defeat to their opposition to this measure.
This, I say, sir, is a progressive question, and before
this Congress is ended the days of compromise will
be ended. So, you who are trembling at the thought
of war, and reasoning as to the value of rights, had
better yield and obey the voice of the people. The
people alone have the right to do and command wrong.
Your constituents at home, while you are debating
this question, are going strong for Oregon. They
expected that, before this, we should have provided
measures for the protection of emigrants, our friends
and brothers, and their wives and children; and
that by this time they would be with their horses
and wagons on the road to Oregon. We will have
to do it, or the people will send representatives here
who will obey their voice.

NOTE.—It would be totally unnecessary for Mr. WICK to explain any of his remarks to his own constituency, or to those who heard them. But his speech will be read by others, strangers to him, and his peculiarities of manner. To such, he has desired us to say, that some of his descriptions were intended to be caricatures, and especially that his description of the mode in which the citizens of the northwest assert their personal honor is so highly a caricature, that the fact represented would not readily be guessed. The people of the northwest are essentially kind in feeling, peaceable, and moderate in their modes of seeking satisfaction for personal griefs or insults.